

The Polish Review

VOL. 1, No. 12

NEW YORK, N. Y. NOVEMBER 17, 1941

PRICE 10 CENTS

SILESIA Past and Present

AFTER the Province of Poznań, Upper Silesia is one of the oldest of the Polish lands. It is situated on the upper Oder, mainly on the right bank, north of the Sudetenland and the Beskide range.

In March last fell the twentieth anniversary of the plebiscite which was held in Upper Silesia. The fate of the province was finally decided seven months later. On October 12th, 1921, the Council of the League of Nations came to a decision on the demarcation of the boundaries of the Upper Silesian plebiscite area, and this decision was confirmed on October 20th, 1921, by the Conference of Ambassadors.

Thus October, 1941, marks the 20th anniversary of these decisions.

THE DEMARCATION OF UPPER SILESIA IN 1921

By the demarcation of October, 1921, out of the 4,145 square miles of the plebiscite area 2,904.3 square miles were assigned to Germany, and 1,240.7 square miles to Poland. Out of the total population of 1,938,596, 1,046,039 lived in the area assigned to Germany, and 892,557 in the part assigned to Poland. Taking the 1910 German population census as a basis, 623,596 Poles were left in the German part of the area, and 263,701 Germans were left in the Polish part. These figures are drawn from the German official, the *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich*, 1927.

The frontier line thus laid down ran along the upper Oder, in a north-easterly direction, towards the spot where it is joined by its tributary, the Ruda. It divided the industrial area so that Katowice, Krolewska Huta and Tarnowskie Gory went to Poland, while



IRON INDUSTRY

SILESIA

Bytom (*Beuthen*), Gliwice (*Gleiwitz*) and Zabrze (*Hindenburg*) went to the Germans. In addition Poland received the eastern part of the county of Lubliniec, without Dobrodzien (*Guttentag*).

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POLAND SPEAKS

THE world today is undergoing great cataclysms and changes. The present war, waged with such savagery for more than two years, has made a great gap in men's lives. The world is rolling on with tremendous speed to an entirely new future. No matter when hostilities cease, the world of tomorrow will not be the same as the world of yesterday.

When the war ends, we shall witness great changes in every walk of life.

Post-war world economy will be the focal point of the entire problem. We all know the endless difficulties with which the governments of various countries had to cope when stabilizing their economic life, the years that elapsed before inflation could be checked, and the years of toil spent in the post-war reconstruction of Europe. Lack of knowledge, foresight and ability, combined with selfishness in the conduct of international economic relations, were responsible for the financial distress and acute economic crisis of 1929-1933, a crisis that in some measure contributed to Hitler's rise to power and was thus indirectly the cause of the present catastrophe.

Many prominent economists even believe that the present war was inevitable and look upon it as a continuation of the First World War after a relatively long period of armistice. They hold that mistaken economic policies could only lend to another armed conflict. New states were created, but the essential problem of giving them sound economic foundations, and of strengthening their finances was neglected. They were left without means to promote and develop their own lives independently of the help and assistance of countries economically stronger.

Few doubt the fact that when the war ends, economic chaos will be greater even than in the years of 1918-1923, and the difficulty of adjusting economic relations will be almost insurmountable. The destruction in this war is catastrophic. A large part of Europe is at present one great cemetery of ruins and ashes, and the end of hostilities is not yet in sight. If the methods used twenty years ago are applied to post-war reconstruction, future generations will suffer miserably and their standard of living as well as their level of culture will be greatly lowered. Now is the time to seek new

policies, the application of which will shorten as much as possible the period of post-war chaos.

It is to be presumed that final victory over the enemy of mankind, will discourage the ambitions and subdue the lust of conquest of those who seek to dominate the world and play the role of "uebermenschen". One may even hope that "totalitarianism" and "dictatorship" will disappear from our political vocabulary, that the conquered nations will return to normal life, that the ideal of freedom and social justice will find practical realization in the lives of individuals as well as communities.

One of the main needs of the post-war period will be the continuation of sacrifice. It will be necessary to forego pleasures and curb desires for the benefit of others. Each individual, each community must exercise patriotic discipline and show willingness to cooperate no matter how hard the task.

This also is true of the life of nations. Exuberant nationalism will have to give way to international co-operation. Countries having raw materials will have to allow access to their national resources, to countries less fortunately situated. In their own interests—nations not directly engaged in the war will have to extend a helping hand to the nations

that have suffered most. It can be neither charity nor speculation looking to immediate profits. Help must be dictated by a nobler aim, by the realization that it is to the common interests of mankind that a sound economic foundation must be built for future international cooperation. To avoid conflict and misunderstandings, to provide against the danger of economic greed that sooner or later leads to war,—it is essential that trade barriers should disappear and tariff walls thrown down, that economic liberalism prevail in a world of international good will.

Those who survive this war will pioneer the reconstruction and the setting of order in Europe. The world of tomorrow will be theirs because they march with time.

From an editorial in "Odsiecz", a weekly published by soldiers of the Polish Army in Canada.

"In these American lands, where freedom rules, where Kosciuszko and Pulaski fought 'for your freedom and for ours' one breathes new life and feels the pure air of a free Democracy. Under the guidance of President Roosevelt, thanks to his providential foresight, the United States is treading the great historical path that leads to the universal freedom of all people. President Roosevelt and the other leaders of this great nation have expressed their deep sympathies and full understanding of Poland's trials, of her struggles, of her rights, of her achievements.

In his speeches President Roosevelt has often told the American people of the key role played by Poland in this fierce fight for the most sacred of ideals.

**From a recent broadcast to Poland by
Jan Stanczyk, Polish Labor Minister**

VOLUNTEERS FROM SOUTH AMERICA IN THE POLISH ARMY

"I am delighted to have had the opportunity of meeting a group of volunteers who have come from the Argentine and Brazil in order to join the Polish Army. The magnificent spirit animating these soldiers who have voluntarily traveled thousands of miles in order to take part in the struggle for Poland's freedom is one more proof that Poland will rise again."

EDEN

British Secretary of State
for Foreign Affairs.

THE first batch of Polish volunteers from South America has been incorporated in the Polish army in Scotland. Some of these men had already served in the Polish army, some had never been in uniform before. Their presence in Scotland is proof of the spirit that animates Poles all over the world. Indeed when Germany wantonly attacked Poland in September 1939 thousands upon thousands of Poles in every country besieged the Polish legations and Consulates, clamoring to be sent home to fight for their country. In Buenos Ayres alone more than five thousand such applications were received. But no transport facilities were available, and after the brief and heroic struggle of the Polish army against overwhelming German superiority in numbers of men and machines, it soon became evident that no useful purpose could be served by sending these men to Europe. This view found fresh confirmation in the collapse of France, where a number of Polish Divisions had been fighting. They escaped to England, thanks to the energy and initiative of General Sikorski, who now has an army of 34,000 men guarding part of the coast of Scotland as well as other large forces in the Near East and a brigade including artillery at Tobruk.

In April of this year, when all arrangements had been made in England and in Canada for the training of recruits, Polish Consulates everywhere were instructed that they might accept voluntary enlistments of Poles or men of Polish descent. The first group to leave South America came from Brazil and were recruited in Rio de Janeiro. They brought with them a Polish flag presented by the Polish-Brazilian Association, as a gift to the Division that will ultimately be formed of South American Poles.

The men arrived in civilian clothes with only a minimum of baggage, and one of the first things that had to be done was to fit them out with British battle dress, which is the uniform worn by the Polish soldiers, except that on the shoulders they



ARRIVAL OF THE VOLUNTEERS

wear a red badge with Poland in white letters. The officers wear the same uniforms but for ordinary wear have tunics with Polish facings and Polish military caps.

Needless to say with what enthusiasm this first detachment was welcomed by their Polish comrades in Scotland. They were met at the railroad station by a high Polish commander and the British liaison officer attached to the Polish forces, and then marched to their barracks behind a Polish military band. They sat down to a hearty Scotch breakfast in a gaily decorated mess hall, and afterwards given an opportunity of meeting their comrades and officers. It was a joyous reunion, and soon the hall was resounding with Polish patriotic songs and music, the expression of that sincere and true love of their Fatherland that had brought them all the way from distant South America to join the ranks of the Polish army in Britain, which is eager to get to grips with the Germans and to carry the war to final victory in their own beloved Poland.

"Two people occupy Silesia, different not only in the regions they inhabit but also in their way of living. In the areas lying south and west, which are better tilled, live Germans; in the heavily wooded and less cultivated tracts to the east and north live the Poles. The two peoples are separated as by a definite boundary by the Oder River . . ."

from "Descriptio totius Silesia," published in 1512 by Bartel Stein of Brieg

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Certain counties, which not only in the German 1910 population census and also in the plebiscite, but even during the German 1925 census, which was conducted in an atmosphere of strong political pressure and oppression for the Polish inhabitants for their participation in the plebiscite and the Upper Silesian rising, showed a Polish majority, were left outside the frontiers of Poland. For instance:

Polish percentage of population.

	Plebiscite (without 1910 emigrant census. votes).	1925 census.
1. Wielkie Strzelce (<i>Gross Strehlitz</i>)	79.2	58.6
2. Opole (<i>Oppeln</i>)	75.8	38.8
3. Toszek-Gliwice (<i>Tost-Gleiwitz</i>)	76.4	63.3
4. Olesno (<i>Rosenberg</i>)	80.7	42.
5. Raciborz-Wies (<i>Ratibor</i>)	47.7	48.4

SILESIA'S POLISH CHARACTER AS REVEALED BY STATISTICS

The Province of Upper Silesia had not been part of the State of Poland since 1335. Despite this six hundred years' separation it had fully retained the use of the Polish language, and also other Polish characteristics. Its people had always been conscious of their common nationality with Poland, and had fought vigorously and persistently against all attempts to Germanize them. Twenty years ago the people of Silesia showed by the sacrifice of their blood in the insurgent struggles that they wished to belong to Poland.

In all the numerous population censuses conducted by the Prussian authorities during the last century 60 per cent. of the inhabitants of Upper Silesia were registered as Polish. In 1910 Upper Silesia or, strictly speaking, the District of Oppeln, had 2,142,183 inhabitants, of which 1,169,340 persons gave Polish as their native language, and 88,798 gave both Polish and German as their native languages (the so-called bi-lingual group). Thus altogether 1,258,138 Polish-speaking persons inhabited the province, this figure being 58.7 per cent. of the total population.

The strength of the Polish population in the province was confirmed by German sources. For instance, Dr. Paul Weber, in a book *Die Polen in Oberschlesien, eine statistische Untersuchung*, published in 1914, discussing the nationalities problem of Upper Silesia, declared that although this 1910 census had

been carried out one-sidedly to the benefit of Germany it showed that the Oppeln District was the most Polish land of all the provinces of the Germany of that time.

The Polish character of Upper Silesia is most clearly revealed in the counties situated along the right bank of the Oder. For in the course of the last century certain more Germanized counties of Lower Silesia were transferred to the Western part of this province in order to give it a more German character. After eliminating these counties, according to Weber there were approximately 1,121,000 Poles and 638,000 Germans living in the area of the true Upper Silesia. The genuine Upper Silesian population lives in the rural areas or in the outlying working-class suburbs of the towns. For hundreds of years the towns have been the especial subject of German cononization and were almost entirely dominated by German burghers, state officials from Central Germany, and the German administration of the heavy industry. According to Weber, in 1910 there were 1,042,869 Poles and only 488,309 Germans living in the rural areas of Upper Silesia.

The Polish character, especially of the right bank of the Oder, is clearly illustrated by the following table. The left-hand column shows the percentage of the Polish population as established in the population census of 1910 in the various Silesian counties on the right bank of the Oder, with the urban population subtracted. The figures in the right-hand column show the percentage of votes cast for Poland in the 1921 plebiscite (without emigrants), which we shall be discussing later in this article.

Kluczbork (<i>Kreutzburg</i>)	47.2	6.5
Olesno (<i>Rosenberg</i>)	80.7	42.0
Opole-Wies (<i>Oppeln</i>)	75.8	38.8
Wielkie Strzelce (<i>Gross Strehlitz</i>)	79.2	58.6
Lubliniec	79.3	53.8
Toszek-Gliwice (<i>Tost-Gleiwitz</i>)	76.4	63.3
Tarnowskie Gory	66.8	67.2
Bytom-Wies (<i>Beuthen</i>)	62.8	62.9
Zabrze (<i>Hindenburg</i>)	51.0	52.8
Katowice-Wies	64.8	60.3
Pszczyna	86.0	80.8
Rybnik	77.8	73.1
Raciborz-Wies (<i>Ratibor</i>)	47.7	48.4

It is evident, therefore, that the entire right bank of the Oder was predominantly inhabited by a Polish population.

THE PLEBISCITE

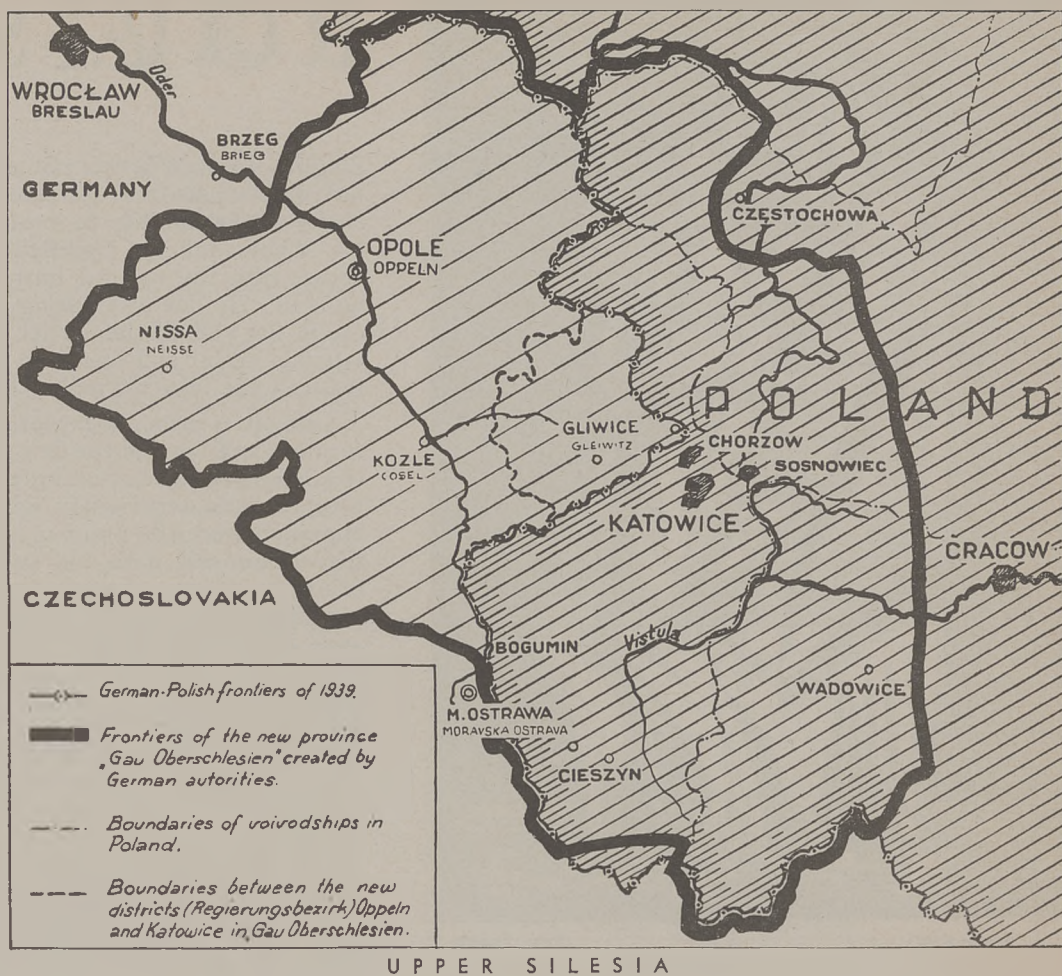
Consequently the original decision of the Versailles Peace Conference, as conveyed in the first draft of the Peace Treaty, presented to the German delegation on May 8th, 1919, was just, for it provided for the transfer of all Upper Silesia to Poland. But the German negotiators succeeded in getting this decision changed. Before deciding the fate of Upper Silesia it was resolved to take a plebiscite in the area, the date being fixed as March 20th, 1921. The plebiscite was to be registered by local districts, and the partition of the plebiscite area

was to be decided upon in accordance with the results in the particular districts. Against the wishes of the Polish delegates the more Germanized counties of Western Głupczyce (*Leobschutz*) and Prudnik (*Neustadt*) were added to the plebiscite area. Also the right to vote was conferred on emigrants, i.e., persons who had been born in Upper Silesia, but who sometimes for decades had lived outside the area. Many of these were Germans who had been born in the area because their fathers had spent a certain time as officials in Upper Silesia, and the inclusion of such an element was bound to weight the balances against Poland. In point of fact, the emigrant vote accounted for 16.2 per cent. of all the votes, and 94.7 per cent. of the emigrants' vote were cast for Germany.

Another factor which greatly affected the result of the plebiscite was the unbelievable moral and physical terror which was practiced against the Polish population. That terror had been in existence, in the form of enforced Germanization, throughout the six hundred years of Upper Silesia's separation from Poland, and after the 1914-1918 war it was still practiced by the German officials and administrative and managerial staffs of the industrial firms, who remained to exert a strong economic and moral pressure on the Polish workmen. Yet, despite all these circumstances, which were to the disadvantage of Poland, the plebiscite vote revealed the unchallengeable Polish character of all Silesia on the right bank of the Oder.

1,186,234 persons took part in the voting, 993,826 of these being permanent inhabitants of the area. 479,414 votes were cast for Poland. The permanent inhabitants' votes were cast as follows: 469,376 votes for Poland, i.e., 47.3 per cent. of the total, and 524,450 votes for Germany, i.e., 52.7 per cent. Out of 1,424 local districts 682 gave a majority of votes for union with Poland.

Excluding the two already mentioned countries of Głupczyce and Prudnik, which were attached to the plebiscite area against Poland's wishes, the per-



manent inhabitants cast 464,720 votes for Poland (50.2 per cent.) and 460,782 votes for Germany (49.8 per cent.)

Taking the area of Silesia on the right bank of the Oder (without the northern section, the counties of Kluczbork, Opole, and part of Olesno) 673 local districts showed a majority for Poland and only 230 for Germany. In this area the total vote, including emigrants, was 435,260 persons for Poland and 409,618 for Germany.

In consequence, the decision of October, 1921, establishing the new frontier was unjust to Poland. For among the areas left with Germany were the counties of Wielkie Strzelce, Toszek-Gliwice, Opole and Olesno, all of which had revealed a Polish majority either in the plebiscite, or in the population census of 1910, or even in the census of 1925.

During the twenty years which have elapsed since the plebiscite, Upper Silesia has retained its Polish character. The Polish part of Upper Silesia, i.e., the province of Silesia, which comprised 1,620 square miles and a population of 1,295,000, had barely 6.6 per cent. German population in the population census of 1921. In the population census of 1925 German Silesia, i.e., the Oppeln District, had a population of 528,246 Poles and 1,230,053 Germans. The Association of Poles in Germany estimated that there were in fact between 700,000 and

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T. Kulisiewicz

Poor People

POLISH GRAPHIC ART

by ELISABETH CARY

knight; the lack of wit not only in his countenance but in his pose and gesture brings him before us shorn of the nobility he bestows upon himself, and his whole mildly dignified yet ludicrous aspect shows him the natural butt of whatever company he is in. No one attempting to visualize Don Quixote in the vein of the earlier sections of Cervantes's tale has, so far as I know, so neatly and humorously realized the idea his maker had of him.

Lam, it is true, is exceptionally gifted in seeing through and beyond the face of his text; but in nearly all the prints celebrating a familiar legend or history there is a curiously wise yet almost childlike approach from the point of view of an artist's identifying himself with his subject, living in it, yet bringing it into the atmosphere of his own surroundings and relying for its truthfulness of appearance upon the vitality with which he endows it. A treatment the exact opposite of that employed by Holman Hunt, Pre-Raphaelite, who for sake of his religious pictures went to the Holy Land to "see for himself"; or that of poor Tissot who threw over a charming talent to faithfully record each cobblestone of the ancient towns of the Bible narrative.

Let us analyze the unpretentious print "The Good Shepherd" by the Polish artist Edmund Bartłomiejczyk. In this beautiful print the face of the Shepherd, affectionate and gay under its halo is only slightly more expressive than that of the shaggy little creature in his arms, each radiating the spirit of the humble symbol and bringing it to life for our alien people who, though alien, have their own interest in succouring the lost and hungry. Wherever we can catch a glimpse of it we find it the spirit of happy cheerful goodness, free from any hint of sanctimonious charity, that binds together the helpers of many land. Of course this spirit, like all others, would be hidden from view were art incompetent to reveal it. The greatest claim upon the genuine lover of genuine art to be made by the more gifted among these Polish print makers is based upon their ability to reveal the spirit behind their work through their technical efficiency. Thus when I talk of the spirit I assume that this efficiency is taken for granted. It must be since I am incompetent to discern and discuss the detailed technique of many of these handsome prints. I speak chiefly of the woodcuts and wood engravings in which I am most interested, which I know much better than the etchings and lithographs, and which seem to me to have an especial appropriateness to the deep roots from which the art of Poland has grown.

In its present stage it is not a very old art. The woodcuts date little farther back than the first quarter of the present century, when the painter W. Skoczylas broke away from his palette and brushes to devote himself to his favorite form of expression, woodcuts. He trained the talents that

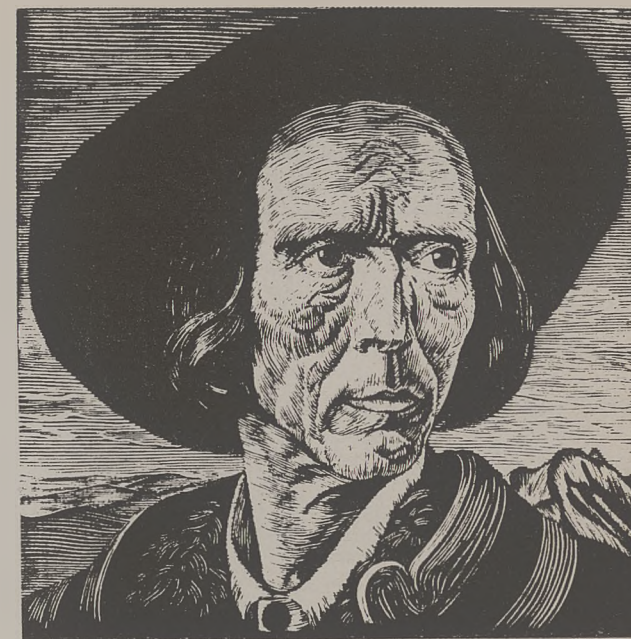
came under his care in the graphic arts, and in 1926 initiated at Warsaw the society of graphic artists in which a number of his colleagues and pupils were promptly enlisted.

Skoczylas, although he had been an experienced painter, or perhaps because of this, adopts a linear technique far removed from the reproduction of painting effects, coming closer to the primitive ideal of pure line while keeping an honest modernity native to him, and respecting his medium under all circumstances. In "The Woodcut of To-Day", a Studio publication of 1927, with commentary by Malcolm Salaman, a brief paragraph and an illustration are given to Skoczylas which, brief though they are in proportion to his great skill, could not be bettered as showing it and speaking of it. I should like to quote the comment for its compact lucidity, the reproduction is of the "St. Christopher", and the author calls it "as fine a piece of white line engraving as one can well imagine, and the whole is so brilliantly rhythmical that the old Saint shines." That is what white line can do and, rather especially, what Skoczylas can do.

Bartłomiejczyk, a contemporary of Skoczylas, is not only the author of "The Good Shepherd" print, but of others even more expert in craftsmanship and of more austere design. Janina Konarska, a former pupil, is experimental and in one mood shows us what Japanese influence can turn into when superimposed on a structure of Polish originality and in another mood produces a remarkable "St. Michael" of complicated but extremely brilliant design with small strong notes of red enlivening the blacks. To the most talented former pupils of Skoczylas belongs also St. Ostoja-Chrostowski whose technique is strictly guided by true line work.

T. Kulisiewicz, has the astringent severity of youth backed by an excellent gift for space planning. His "Poor People", his "Peasant Carver of Holy Images", others, are in bold areas of black and white, large, impressive, stately, with the primitive convention of small accessory scenes worked into the setting for the principal figures, but the emotion conveyed is completely modern, adult despite the young severity of the expression, and diffident with the contemporary attitude toward emotionalism. I wish I could be sure of seeing work by the same hand ten years from now.

Freer in treatment but more fiercely moving is Wiszniewski's "Christ". Marja Dunin's woodcuts are lighter in mood even in such illustration of a proverb as "Without Work there is no Bread". The hunger-smitten group, groaning when awake, seeking comfort in sleep, nevertheless has a little air of pantomime, of expectancy that everything even famine will come right in the end, the most destructive mood possible to human nature. What we



Wladyslaw Skoczylas

Mountaineer

must conceive as a natural ebullience of temperament comes to light in the same artist's "Holiday Gifts" a modern family but wearing haloes which may and may not indicate the child as the little Christ, who in any case is absorbed, happy and wondering over his plentitude of Christmas toys. The charming sentiment is adequately supported by the clear direct craftsmanship and the great variety of patterns woven into the design.

Another woman artist, Wiktorja Gorynska, produced some of the pleasantest work in the woodcut section: "Siamese Cat" (linoleum) in which (Please turn to page 9)



Stanislaw Ostoja-Chrostowski

The Flight to Egypt

"The Upper Silesians cling to their Polish idiom with might and main. The villages are full of Poles and the towns almost so."

From "Silesiographia", by Hennel, published in 1613. Page 59

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800,000 Poles in this area. Only part of this population was prepared to declare its Polish allegiance, because of the German political oppression and terror.

THE GAU OBERSCHLESSEN

In September, 1939, the Germans occupied the Polish part of Silesia, and incorporated the Polish province of Silesia together with part of the adjacent provinces of Kielce and Cracow with their own province of *Schlesien*.

Therefore the new separate province of Upper Silesia includes the German part of Upper Silesia, the Polish province of Silesia and the adjacent lands taken from the Kielce province (Sosnowiec, Bedzin, Dombrowa Gurnicza) and from the Cracow province (Chrzanow, Jaworzno, Trzebinia, Oswiecim, Biala, Zywiec, and Wadowice).

The new province has a population of some 4.3 million inhabitants, some three million of them being in the Katowice district and some 1.3 millions in the Oppeln district. In the Katowice district the density of population is about 820 to the square mile, and in the Oppeln district some 290 to the square mile.

In terms of nationalities the province of Upper Silesia is an unparalleled freak in the German Reich. Out of its 4.3 million inhabitants more than 3,200,000, or about 75 per cent., are Poles.

The third Reich created the separate province of Upper Silesia undoubtedly because of the necessity of separating out an area possessing such abnormal national relationships. The establishment of a single administrative direction for the area is for the purpose of applying a special policy of oppression, terror and opportunism in order to achieve at least the superficial liquidation of the Polish problem in Silesia. For the present state of affairs is in flagrant contradiction with the National Socialist doctrine of a nationally homogeneous German Reich territory.

The fact that this area presents a Polish problem of a scale dangerous to the Reich has been openly admitted by the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten*, which in its issue for February 22nd last printed

GERMAN EVIDENCE

"Thus we have over against a Lower and Middle Silesia that had been Germanized and were almost wholly Protestant, an overwhelmingly Slavonic and Catholic Upper Silesia."

Carl von Gruenhagen (3, p. 109) from his Oppeln lecture of 1903

an article entitled: *Die Sprache allein hilft nicht*. This article said *inter alia*:

"So we must direct attention to the fact that it is a question of fulfilling an obligation (i.e., the Germanization of Silesia) which must be fulfilled not only in the Eastern Upper Silesian part of the province, but which is just as urgent in the area of Oppeln, Kreutzburg, Rosenberg, Ratibor, and Gleiwitz. In future there must be no possibility of those exacerbated social and political relationships which, for instance, render it possible for the Poles to talk of their unliberated brothers in Oppeln Silesia."

A further proof of the Polish character of the entire province of Upper Silesia and also an indication of the German intentions to Germanize this area completely is provided by the words of the *Gauleiter* of Upper Silesia, Fritz Bracht, who at a meeting of Germans in Cracow on May 2nd, 1941, at which Governor-General Frank was present, summarized his programme in the following laconic sentence:

"I have been commissioned by the Führer to make Upper Silesia German." (Vide *Krakauer Zeitung* of May 3rd, 1941.)

By these words the Germans admit that they have now got to begin to make Polish countries German.

GERMANY'S POPULATION DIFFICULTIES IN THE EAST

The state of affairs outlined above is forcing the Germans to eliminate the Polish element as quickly as possible. The simplest solution would be to deport Poles to the Government General as an area assigned as the "national home" of the Polish people. But it is not easy, nor for that matter possible, to carry out this plan.

The Polish western provinces incorporated with the Reich have a Polish population which, added to the Polish population inhabiting the eastern areas of the Reich adjacent to Poland down to 1939, numbers some 11 million Poles, of which over three million inhabit the area of the new province of Upper Silesia. The transference of these millions to the small and overpopulated area of the Government General is beyond the economic and organizational possibilities of the German Reich. And there are other difficulties, still more awkward and even dangerous, connected with such a transference. In the last resort several millions of Poles can be transferred to the Government and left to their fate. But who is to be settled in the abandoned farms, and industrial and commercial establishments. How are the towns and villages of the so-called German East to be populated? The Germans brought in from the Baltic States and elsewhere constitute only a very small proportion of the numbers necessary to populate the areas taken from the Poles. Moreover, this imported element has in many cases proved unworthy of confidence and not at all adaptable to the pioneering role of a German, and especially the National Socialist *Kultur-Träger*.

It is not possible to transfer Germans in large
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the tricky material is persuaded to much finer issues than usual and a very superior firmness of line; and a print listed simply as "City" printed in color, a grave harmony in a beautiful and skilfully ordered composition.

Finally, a type of woodcut very different from any yet mentioned, and which more specifically should be called wood engraving as the great variety in the technique hardly could be accomplished except with a variety of engravers riety in the technique hardly could be accomplished except with a variety of engravers tools and on a hard wood block. The title of the most elaborate example of this work is "Apocalypse" and everything possible to do with that defiant subject seems to have been done. It is white line on a solid black ground almost completely covered by the elaborate design, divided — informally and with infinite skill—into three parts. This artist, Stefan Mrozewski, has achieved an amazing composition in which



Janina Konarska

Woodcut

every part is admirably related to the rest, as closely and workably fitted as the parts of a modern machine to its whole, yet keeping a look of mystery and merged splendor throughout. What particularly enlisted my admiration was the adroit way in which a subtly modified triangle filled with ani-

ated forms was developed from the upper right corner of the design to the lower left, interrupted, overlaid, flexibly twisting, descending from light to dark, from large to small, until in the lowest fragment of the design we see a minute nude figure sketching on a block that bears two initials — the artist.

The last word I have to say about the Polish prints is that they interest me, that I like them, and that I cannot see how anyone to whom prints are important can fail to feel with me along this line.

(From the Catalogues Polish Graphic Art Exhibitions, published by the Polish Art Service).

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numbers from Central, Western and Southern Germany to the East, for there are not so many of them as this would necessitate. For that matter—and this is the most fundamental difficulty of all—they show no enthusiasm or desire to abandon their more pleasant life in the Western towns and shift to the Eastern areas. To this has been added the fact that the natural increase of the German population is much smaller per annum than that of the Poles. In addition, for several decades there has been a persistent emigration of German population from East to West (especially from Eastern Prussia) and no steps taken by either the governments of Imperial Germany or those of Weimar and Nazi Germany to oppose this dangerous phenomenon, such as taxation relief, tariff relief, *Osthilfe*, etc., have achieved the intended result. In view of these facts it is not surprising that the Germans fully realize the troubles and dangers which threaten them in this area.

UPPER SILESIA AS AN ECONOMIC AREA

The Silesian coal deposits extend from Morawa to Olkusz and Cracow, and were divided up among the three states which carried out the Partitions of Poland: Prussia, Russia and Austria. After the last war the exploitation of this field was in the hands of Germany, Czechoslovakia and Poland. Its main centre was in Upper Silesia, which was divided between Poland and Germany.

The coal production of the entire field exploited by Germany, Czechoslovakia and Poland amounted to some 10 per cent. of the total European production (including the U.S.S.R.) and almost 25 per cent. of the European production without Great Britain and the U.S.S.R. In 1937 Europe had an aggregate coal output of some 570 million tons; Great Britain accounted for some 245 millions of this, and the U.S.S.R. some 123 millions; Germany,

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including German Silesia, some 185 millions; Poland 36 millions; and Czechoslovakia about 17 millions. In 1937 the output of the Silesian field as a whole (Poland, Czechoslovakia and German Silesia) was about 73 million tons.

The Upper Silesian coalfield, which down to the end of the last war belonged entirely to the German Reich, was situated in the far south-eastern corner of the German State of that time. The fact that it was in close proximity to the Russian and Austrian customs frontiers, which rendered the disposal of Silesian industrial products, as well as the import of the requisite raw materials difficult, if not impossible, and also the fact that Upper Silesia had poor transport communications with the central regions of Germany, were a dam on the adequate development of the Silesian industry. According to statistics for 1913 only 28.7 per cent. of Silesian coal was consumed in Germany. 57.2 per cent. went to the Polish areas in Prussia, Russia and Austria, which after 1918 formed part of the Republic of Poland.

In 1912 Silesia had an iron ore production of 1,048,356 tons, which amounted to 5.9 per cent. of the total German production. In relation to German production there had been a steady decline of Upper Silesian production for several decades prior to that date. In 1871 Silesian iron ore production amounted to 14.8 per cent. of the total German production; in 1901 it had fallen to 8.1 per cent., and in 1912 it was 5.9 per cent. The production of steel also declined comparatively, being 10.2 per cent. of the total German production in 1904, and only 8.6 per cent. of the total, or some 350,000 tons, in 1912.

This decline in iron and steel output was due to the problem of marketing production, owing to the impossibility of exporting to the Polish lands included in Russia (the high Russian customs duties) and the transport costs from Silesia to central Germany, which were very much higher than those from Westphalia (owing to the absence of cheap and convenient waterway transport). Finally, there were the higher costs of production, caused by the impossibility of obtaining cheap ore or scrap iron in Silesia, which were not offset by the lower cost of labor in Silesia than in Westphalia. It is true that iron ore deposits existed in the area of the Congress Kingdom of Poland, adjacent to Upper Silesia, but owing to Russian tariff charges this ore was much more expensive for Silesian working than the more valuable ore of Lorraine, for instance, or even the Swedish ore worked in Westphalia. All these circumstances

"It surprised me uncommonly when in a village scarce two leagues from Breslau and on this side of the Oder I heard Polish all about me."

From a letter of Pastor J. F. Zoellner, a church dignitary, who traversed Silesia on a mission to Cracow in 1791

"We villagers of Upper Silesia, who have tilled our soil for centuries, hold that we are its true owner. We demand that our nationality be conceded . . . We ask that in the schools all subjects be taught in Polish . . . Let priest, teacher and official deal with us in Polish, for we do not understand German."

from Upper Silesian Daily, 1848

held up the development of the Silesian mines and foundaries and all the economic life of the area. The directors of German Silesian industry at that time saw only one way out of this catastrophic situation, namely in rendering accessible to Silesian industry the sole natural hinterland which the Polish areas constituted for Silesia. An eloquent testimony to the views of competent German representatives and of their desire for an economic union of Silesia with Poland is provided by the memorials which the German Chamber of Commerce at Oppeln presented during the last war, and also those of the *Berg und Hüttenmännischer Verein* in Katowice, to the Reich Chancellor Bethmann-Holweg. In these memorials the German economic leaders of Silesia demanded that in the interests of Silesian industry the Congress Poland, or at least its western districts, should be incorporated with Germany, or that some other solution of the Polish question favourable to Germany should be found.

One of the memorials presented by the Oppeln Chamber of Commerce, dated July, 1917, declares:

"In view of the unfavourable situation of the Upper Silesian industrial region, Poland will remain extremely important for its economic development, and one even may say, an irreplaceable factor in that development. If for a long period to come the Polish country were not to be exploited by Upper Silesia Silesian industry would have to stagnate."

THE NEW EASTERN INDUSTRIAL AREA OF THE GREAT GERMAN REICH

After the occupation of the Polish lands and the preliminary economic domination of the conquered areas, in January 1941 the Germans set to work on the economic reorganization of the Silesian area by subjecting it to a homogeneous political and economic control, given outward form in the creation of a separate province of Upper Silesia.

Last year this great industrial area produced about 100 million tons of coal, which is approximately 41 per cent. of British pre-war coal output (in 1937 British coal output was 245 million tons). The iron foundry industry has large establishments at Trzyniec, Gliwice, in the Katowice-Chorzow region (the Pilsudski, the Batory, the Pokoj and Baildon foundries) while in the Dombrowa field about a million tons of iron ore were produced per annum during the years preceding the present war,

and a huge amount of other industrial products in addition.

By subjecting the entire industrial area of Upper Silesia to homogeneous political and economic control and also carrying through a far-reaching capital concentration and technical specialization of the existing industry the Germans have been able greatly to increase the productive power of this area, and they prophesy that in the near future it will be only a little behind the Ruhr.

THE SILESIAN FIELD A SECOND BASIC CENTRE OF THE GERMAN WAR INDUSTRY

The steps the Germans have taken are understandable from their viewpoint. Particularly understandable is the haste with which they are developing Silesian industry. The Upper Silesian area, the second largest industrial centre in the German Reich, is becoming a powerful production centre for the German war industry as the *Kattowitzer Zeitung* of March 9 last put it in an article entitled "*Die Gebote des Raumes*" (The Commands of Space). The article said, inter alia:

"As the Reich's forge of weapons and era of creative work Upper Silesia undoubtedly has earned the title of the industrial district of the East, the more so as in regard to density of population and large stocks of raw materials it is not inferior to the Ruhr."

Gauleiter Bracht also, in an article entitled "*Oberschlesien als Standort einer Eisen schaffenden Industrie*" (Upper Silesia as the centre of an iron-working industry") in "*Der Vierjahresplan*" for April 20 last, stated:

"Coming to the military-economic aspect of the problem, it must be definitely stated that in the future also the army will never renounce an iron-working industry centre in the East as an equalizing factor to the West."

The great importance of this great industrial area for the German coalmining industry arises not only from the enormous production possibilities of its mines, foundries and factories. This area is some 900 miles from the British Isles, and so much more inaccessible to the R.A.F. than the Ruhr and other German industrial centres. Taking advantage of the exceptional war situation the Silesian industry can obviously develop to an unprecedented extent.

THE FUTURE ROLE OF THE SILESIAN CENTRE

But the war will end. The Germans, of course, are planning as though it will end in victory for them. In that case the German armaments policy would be continued, but even so industrial production would have to follow a more normal, peacetime course, taking civilian as well as military consumption into account. As we have already mentioned, the Upper Silesian industry has not so far



Silesia

Coal

had inside Germany conditions favourable to its rational development. Would it have such conditions in the new post-war situation, as a province in the Great German Reich?

Through their politicians, economists and publicists the Germans give a positive answer to this question. Gauleiter Bracht and others promise an unprecedented development of Silesian industry after the war. What justification is there for these optimistic forecasts?

In the article we have already quoted Bracht declares that the extraordinary possibilities of development are opening up before the Upper Silesian field, for its natural markets in the area east of Germany, the General Gouvernement, Russia and South-Eastern Europe, have become accessible to it. These agricultural countries, inhabited by a population whose previous low standard of existence will be raised, will provide enormous numbers of new consumers of coal, iron and other Silesian industrial products. All that has to be done for this purpose is to develop the Vistula and its tributaries for navigation, build the Oder-Vistula canal, and thus make it possible to provide cheap transport from Upper Silesia to the countries specified, through the Vistula-Bug canal to the waterways of Russia, and so right across Russia and the Ukraine.

From these remarks it is obvious that in the conditions of the new Hitler organized Europe Upper Silesian industry will not have conditions of development within the bounds of the German Reich. Its natural hinterland is Poland and her adjacent countries lying within the sphere of Silesia's natural trading area. Only in association with Poland can Silesia develop adequately only thus can its production be maintained at the level corresponding to the reserves of raw materials which are to be found in its soil. Poland is an agricultural country, little developed industrially. After the war there must

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Polish Ambassador, professor Stanislaw Kot, presents his credentials to President Kalinin of the U.S.S.R.

From left to right: Mniszek, First Secretary of the Polish Embassy in Moscow, Sokolnicki, Counsellor of the Embassy, Tabaczynski, Counsellor of the Embassy, Nowikow and Gorin of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Moloczko, Chief of the Protocol of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Prof. St. Kot, Polish Ambassador, President Kalinin of U.S.S.R., Wyszynski, Under-Secretary of State, General Szyszko-Bohusz, Head of the Polish Military Mission in U.S.S.R., Colonel Wolikowski, Polish Military Attache in U.S.S.R., Baszyrew from the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

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be a considerable industrialization of Poland, and her standard of civilization must be raised to the level of Western European civilization.

This inseparable economic association of Silesia and Poland is expressly confirmed in the *Krakauer Zeitung* of July 15 last, in an article entitled: "*Die Zukunftsbedeutung der Weichsel*" (the future importance of the Vistula). The relevant passage reads:

"The Vistula, together with its navigable tributaries, will in the future be called upon to supply all this tremendous area with mass products, which the Upper Silesian industrial area can produce in such large quantities."

In the future Poland must be the guard and guarantee of peace in Europe. For this purpose she must raise her industrial potential to such a level that she will be able in future effectively to resist any new German aggression. This can happen only if she can possess the Upper Silesian industry in all its magnitude.

WHAT WOULD THE GERMANS DO WITH THE UPPER SILESIAN INDUSTRY?

In all the German observations on the subject of the part Upper Silesian industry is to play after the war there is no suggestion whatever that its products are destined to satisfy the normal peace-time needs of the German Reich. For the Reich needs the Upper Silesian industry only for the purpose of turning out military equipment. The normal needs of the German population can be met much more cheaply by the Westphalian and Rhinish industry. It follows that Upper Silesian industry is not necessary to the Germans, and that it can serve only as a centre for further rearmament.

If this industry were left within the frontiers of the German Reich, Poland would be reduced to complete economic dependence on Germany, and the situation would contain the seeds of a new German aggression against Poland.

Upper Silesia, within the bounds of a highly industrialized Reich, incapable of consuming Silesian products, would decline industrially. This would lead inevitably to attempts to create an artificial demand by applying an armaments policy, which is the first step towards a new war. Such a fact would also involve German attempts to throw their industrial products on to the world market at dumping prices, so that as a German province Silesia would merely burden Europe's industrial balance.

UPPER SILESIA AN INSEPARABLE PART OF POLAND

Despite the many centuries for which Silesia has been separated from Poland, Upper Silesia has retained its Polish character and its Polish language, and its Polish people have kept their strong national sentiments. Even the tendentious German statistics have not succeeded in concealing the Polish character of the area. As in other parts of Poland, Polish life continues down to the present time in this province, causing the occupant authorities no little difficulties and complications.

Upper Silesia, as one of the few large industrial centres of Europe, based on coal deposits sufficient for hundreds of years (the coal reserves amount to some 200,000 million tons) economically gravitates exclusively towards Polish areas. Within the frontiers of the Reich Silesia is condemned only to stagnation, which in turn will lead to its becoming the production centre for new German armaments threatening the peace of the world.

So the decision of the first draft of the Versailles Treaty, presented to Germany on May 8th, 1919, and providing for all Upper Silesia to be ceded to Poland, was absolutely just. The mistake committed at Geneva twenty years ago in the partitioning of Upper Silesia has been only too clearly demonstrated. After recent experiences that error must be put right.